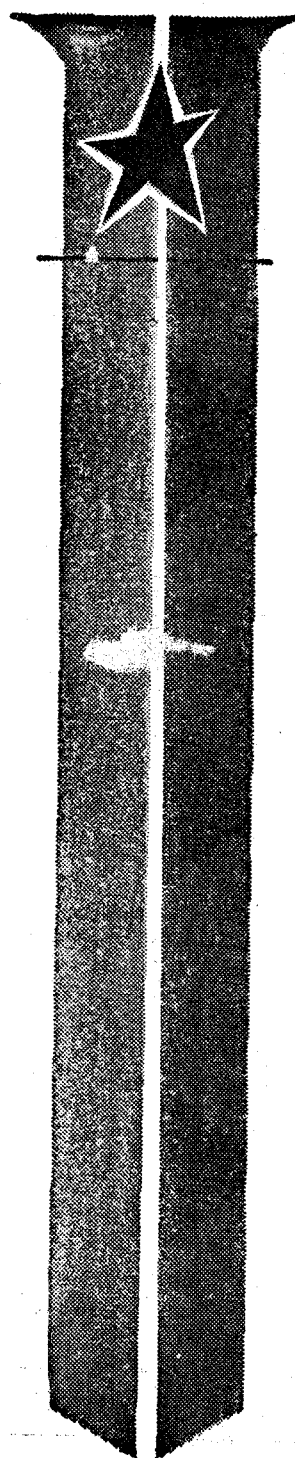


THE NATION

January 6, 1964 . . 35c



SNCC Takes Stock

Mandate from History

Elizabeth Sutherland

The Ambiguous Heirs

AFTER THE VICE PRESIDENT?

Robert S. Hirschfield

STUDEBAKER: End of a Dream

B. J. Widick

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LETTERS

The state of Texas

Mansfield, Tex.

Dear Sirs: Reece McGee's article, "The Roots of the Agony" (*The Nation*, Dec. 21), was absolutely superb. I have heard others make similar comments.

John Howard Griffin

Chickasha, Okla.

Dear Sirs: The liberals, as well as the conservatives in Texas, and the other forty-nine states, are equally guilty in the death of President Kennedy. His death and Texas do not exist in a vacuum.

Dolores A. Baker

Westmont, N.J.

Dear Sirs: May I respectfully suggest that Reece McGee's article was a waste of paper? In the face of tragedy, we all tend to reinforce our favorite prejudices. Mr. McGee's smug condemnation of Texas is no more logical and is no more relevant to the assassination of President Kennedy than the right-wing charge that "Castroism" is the culprit.

Charles R. Morris

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Sirs: Just finished reading Reece McGee's "The Roots of the Agony." An outstanding article — thoughtful and well documented. Worth subscription price to *The Nation*.

Joy Falk

El Paso, Tex.

Dear Sirs: This article represents a new low in scholarship. . . . It is an exercise in prejudice and hate, unworthy of a responsible social scientist, even in "harsh and violent" Texas.

Samuel D. Myres, Head
Department of Government
Texas Western College

San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Sirs: The study of Texas in your December 21 issue is a masterpiece, and much needed.

Donovan Bess
San Francisco Chronicle

Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Sirs: Texas is not unique. Instead, it is surprisingly similar to many parts of the country. I believe that . . . the assassination could have happened in New York as well as in Texas. . . . If the tragedy occurred for reasons other than the pervasiveness of violence everywhere [Mr. McGee's] article has not provided them.

Harold Tobman
Lafayette High School

Austin, Tex.

Dear Sirs: We have read Reece McGee's article in *The Nation*, and we

want to express our congratulations. It is masterfully done. You will get, undoubtedly, severe criticism from those who, either because they have not read the article in its entirety, or because they persist in interpreting parts of it out of context, believe that it maligns Texas, Dallas and Texans. Be assured that many of us, both native and adopted Texans, know that you have rendered us all a real service by publishing this comprehensive, penetrating and temperate analysis.

George I. Sánchez

William E. Drake

Center for International Education
The University of Texas

Serving the survivors

New York City

Dear Sirs: Your readers are alert to the nuclear peril and aware of what happened when those two miniature A-bombs exploded over the Japanese cities eighteen years ago. However, many of them do not realize that a quarter million survivors are living handicapped existences today, physically or psychologically affected by the nuclear holocausts visited on their cities. Incapable of demanding or full-time work, ever apprehensive of a sudden and fatal illness, the survivors of the bomb are hard put to exist in Japan's highly competitive society.

It is for these people that Hiroshima House was founded six and a half years ago; since then almost 50,000 of them have visited it. It serves a dual purpose, as a community center and as a protest against nuclear warfare, a symbol of man's concern for the pitiable results of his folly.

Supported until now by a few individuals, the continued existence of the house depends on the success of a fund-raising drive aimed at establishing a \$150,000 endowment fund to put the center on a self-sustaining basis. Hiroshima House Foundation has been granted tax-exempt status. Contributions, which will be gratefully acknowledged, may be sent to Hiroshima House Foundation, 173 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10024.

Ira and Edita Morris

Animosity toward research

Baltimore, Md.

Dear Sirs: Hilbert Schenck's case against "fuzzy-thinking" physicists (*The Nation*, Nov. 23) is distinguished more for slapdash enthusiasm than for accuracy. Passing over the factual blunders . . . I should like to call attention to a serious misapprehension of the nature of government-run science.

Project Apollo in particular, and

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NASA in general, are not in the hands of scientists. . . . Where is the opposition coming from? From the President of the AAAS, a Nobel Prize-winning physicist and an assortment of *Science* correspondents. The disci-

(Continued on page 33)

Cutting Up the Arms Budget

For fifteen years, the only way to get new schools (to the extent that they could be got) or hospitals, or roads, or anything good and useful, has been to hook it up with the cold war. You couldn't ask for schools to nurture and civilize the young—you had to put it on the basis of "beating the Russians." For some forty million Americans the "guns" side of the federal budget was built up at the expense of the "butter" side. At the same time, those who felt that we never could get guns enough were rewarded with butter, mink, pent-houses, debutante balls, travel and all the other amenities a grateful nation could give.

But things are beginning to change. Among those who have been getting, not a new deal or a square deal, or anything but a raw deal, one group—the Negroes—became restive, and some of the prosperous began to realize that if there were not more welfare spending, all the nation's arms would not avail. Moreover, their own comforts might be jeopardized. But where was the money to come from? A glance at the federal spending figures supplies the answer. There is only one source of public funds to meet the accumulation of pressing domestic programs—the \$50-60 billion military budget.

Under President Kennedy, Defense Secretary McNamara began trying to put a ceiling on military spending, preparatory to efforts to cut it back. The closing of thirty-three bases is, of course, hardly more than a gesture: we have upward of 6,000 scattered over the globe. But it shows the trend, and it is one that President Johnson will by all indications continue to support and enlarge.

The military establishment has grown fat; the predators are coming over the hill. Think of all the groups that want something! Not only the obvious things, ranging from colleges to medicare, but basic necessities like pure water (which implies water-pollution control as well as finding new sources of fresh water); pure air (that means air-pollution control and perhaps nuclear-power plants); supersonic civil aviation (not urgent, but it is coming); the rehabilitation of the railroads, and everything else that cannot be done without a generous measure of government financing. All these interest groups will join to hack at the military budget. They will fight among themselves about who should get what, but they will agree that overkill is not a goal to be pursued indefinitely. They will also agree that the funds must be diverted, not saved, because diversion offers the only chance of keeping unemployment from toppling the whole social structure.

Pensively regarding the new frontier of government spending, President Johnson has given ear to Seymour Melman, the Columbia University professor of industrial engineering who has been knocking on

Washington doors with a plan to cut the defense budget by \$16-26 billion. Melman has also presented his case to Chairman Carl Vinson of the House Armed Services Committee. Melman argues that the TFX fighter airplane (\$6 billion) which Boeing and General Dynamics have been feuding about, should not be manufactured at all. He also points out that if we persist in equipping NATO with a multinational atomic surface fleet, we are very likely to find a Soviet atomic fleet cruising off our shores from Cuban bases. The Russians could execute this riposte with twenty-five converted Liberty ships for less than \$50 million, plus the cost of medium-range missiles, which likewise come cheap. Melman may not succeed fully in his endeavors, but his polite reception foreshadows the new look in federal spending.

Chou in Africa

Traveling statesmen always want something from those they visit, and of necessity they usually carry some kind of *quid pro quo*. In their current meanderings through Africa, Premier Chou En-lai and his foreign minister, Chen Yi, have little more to offer than the ash trays, embroidery, Chinese phonograph records and photographs that Chen distributed to the officials of an Egyptian automobile factory. Also, of course, Chou's tributes to the newly emergent African states. For his own part, Chou probably expects little more, in the way of immediate results, than public relations "exposure" and "contacts."

Yet, though the Africans are not falling on their faces, no one regards the Chinese visits as inconsequential; and the best evidence of this is that Premier Khrushchev will probably make the same tour in 1964. China is beset at the moment, but everyone knows that Chou represents a great nation. And Chou himself is no mean figure. The African statesmen have been receiving him with the professional respect due a senior practitioner of the craft. He has been around a long time, and he may still be around when some of them are gone.

NATO and American observers have generally been circumspect, except for those whose preoccupation with the East-West and Sino-Soviet power struggles is paramount. Thus William R. Frye, writing from the United Nations in *The Christian Science Monitor*, suggests that the Soviet UN delegate, Nikolai T. Fedorenko, is trying to play off the Afro-Asians against the Chinese. The former want amendments to the UN Charter which will add to their influence (by admitting more African states), but the Soviet Union insists on giving priority to Chinese admittance to the UN. Frye thinks the Afro-Asians may resent the Russians, rather than the Chinese, as the cause of their frustration.

All this may be so, but then Frye adds: "Such a

collision between the Soviet Union and the fifty-six-nation Afro-Asian bloc would be a Godsend to the West." Would it? Only in the short term, if at all. It is of little avail to fish in troubled waters if the fish are too large to be hauled ashore. The State Department seemed to have some inkling of this when it dispatched Roger Hilsman, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, to speak before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco on U.S. policy toward Communist China. Intermingled with the standard protestations of American (and Nationalist Chinese) virtue and Red Chinese iniquity, a gleam of realism flickered. It sounded synthetic, as if countless assistant secretaries and speech writers had worked to reduce it to a minimum; nevertheless, the hope was expressed that the Reds would "accept again a world of diversity, in place of the gray monolith which seems to be communism's goal for human society." Behind the façade of rhetoric, there may be a reluctant perception of the truth—that there can be no peace or stability in the world while China remains outside the society of nations, and that this is true whether the United States or the Soviet Union or the two in concert keep it out.

Contempt of Congress

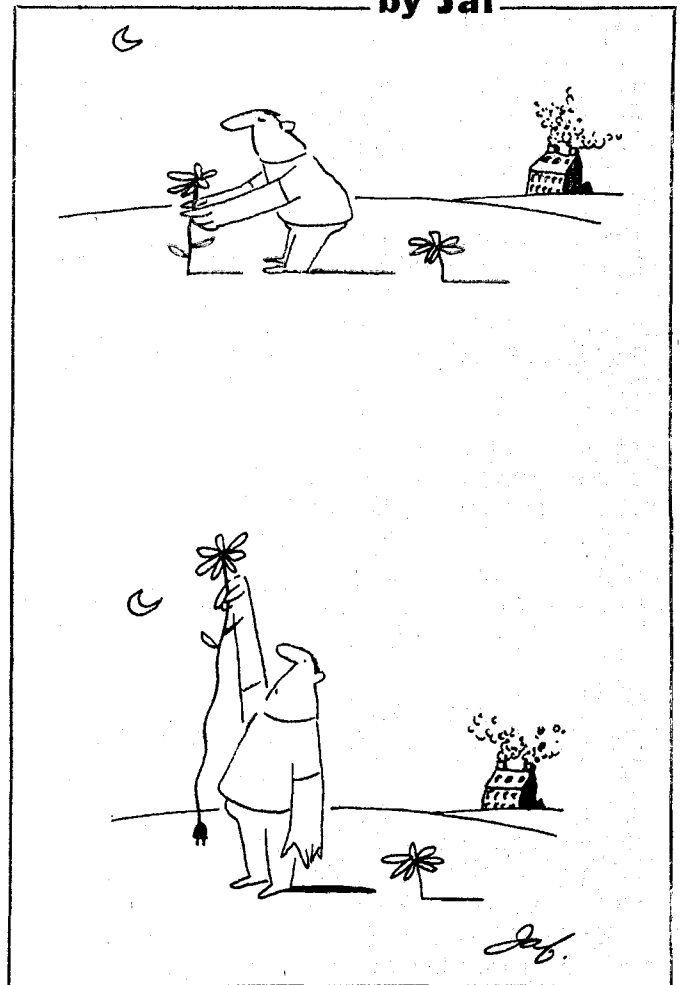
Most citizens automatically respect the President and the ranking members of the Executive branch. Congressmen may also be respected, but only on the basis of devoted service and demonstrated probity. Contempt of Congress in the technical sense is a misdemeanor, but in the popular sense it is widespread—and not without reason. Structurally and organizationally, Congress lags behind the times, but its institutional defects are aggravated by the individual misbehavior of a sizable proportion of its members. The contempt in which they are held is deserved, and spills over to some extent on those who do not deserve it.

Money is at the root of this particular evil. As Senator Wayne Morse points out, the double standard Congress lives by is the source of its ill repute. It refuses to accept for itself the standards of monetary ethics that it applies to the Executive and Judicial branches. When an appointee comes up for confirmation, or when conduct in some agency office is investigated, the Congressional committeemen often seem to proceed on the assumption that the witness, if not an outright crook, is certainly a person whose financial status must be scrutinized for conflict of interests. Only the committeemen themselves are above suspicion.

This ludicrous and arrogant assumption fools no one. When Senator Dirksen protested that to force members of Congress to reveal their financial holdings and dealings would make them "second-class citizens," his constituents must have taken him for either a fool or a hypocrite—and they know he is no fool.

For seventeen years, Senator Morse has been trying to correct this abuse. He has disclosed his own financial interests in the utmost detail. So, in varying de-

by Jaf



grees, have a few other Senators and Representatives. Voluntary disclosure is insufficient: one must assume that those who have the most to hide will be the most secretive. Every year since 1946, Senator Morse has introduced a bill to compel disclosure of income by all persons, including members of Congress, who receive federal income in excess of \$10,000, and by members of the Republican and Democratic National Committees. In the 88th Congress, the bill is S. 148. In past years, the proposed legislation has received general approval. In 1951, it was endorsed by President Truman in a message to congress. "... People who accept the privilege of holding office in the Government," Mr. Truman wrote, "must of necessity expect that their entire conduct should be open to inspection by the people they are serving." But the bill did not pass in 1951, nor has it been seriously considered since.

It is a rule in American politics that until the smell becomes intolerable, nothing is done. In this matter of Congressional responsibility that point has been reached. When a Congressman, speaking at great length on the floor of the House, defends his commission of an indefensible action, and is applauded and congratulated when he bursts into tears by way of peroration, enough voters may be sufficiently disgusted to look for a remedy. One exists, but the record shows how small a chance there is of the Congress

applying it, except under pressure. If voters would ask candidates for Congress next November whether they are prepared to vote for Senator Morse's bill at its next introduction, there might be an abrupt and salutary change in Congressional views.

Kefauver's Reward

All over the United States, airports, bridges and other public facilities are being named for John F. Kennedy; a 50c piece is to be minted in his honor. What a contrast between these well-deserved memorials and the posthumous treatment meted out to Senator Estes Kefauver! Once the customary eulogies had been said, a number of Kefauver's colleagues, actively or by inaction, sabotaged his efforts to curb the price-fixing practices of the drug industry. Simultaneously, Knight Newspapers, Inc., has distributed an article by Philip Meyer which, intentionally it would seem, tends to besmirch Kefauver's reputation.

In *The Washington Post* of November 10, the syndicated article was headlined, "Drug Stock Holdings Casting Shadow on the Kefauver Image." Kefauver, it is stated, owned \$30,000 worth of drug stocks at the time of his death. These included shares which Kefauver held throughout his four-year battle against the drug interests. Two of these, Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation and Monsanto, are basically chemical companies, and the work of Kefauver's Anti-Trust and Monopoly subcommittee seems to have had no effect on either concern. Meyer goes on to relate that on August 2, 1962, Kefauver acquired seventy-five shares of American Home Products, the parent company of Wyeth Laboratories. Covering himself with the reservation that "there is no evidence that this or any other action [Kefauver] took in the course of his legislative activity was designed to advance his financial interests," Meyer none the less tries to read significance into the fact that Kefauver denounced four of Wyeth's competitors the day after he acquired American Home Products, but failed to mention the latter. In a letter to *The Washington Post*, John M. Blair, the Anti-Trust and Monopoly subcommittee's chief economist, points out that this was one of those "morning hour" speeches in which Senators are limited to a few minutes on the floor, and that the speech centered on the baby-maim-

ing drug, thalidomide, with which American Home Products had nothing to do. Dr. Blair notes further that in a major speech which Kefauver delivered three weeks later he excoriated the drug industry in general and American Home Products (and Pfizer) in particular.

On May 16, 1963, Kefauver bought 100 shares of Pfizer and 200 shares of Rexall. A former employee of Riker Laboratories, a Rexall subsidiary, testified before the Kefauver committee that he had left the firm because of its "perverted marketing attitude," after which Kefauver presented to his committee a Food and Drug Administration report which accused Pfizer of making to doctors "misleading comparisons" of its oral diabetes drug with those of its competitors.

The following day, over Kefauver's objections, his colleagues voted to postpone a probe into international price-fixing in drugs by referring the matter to the Foreign Relations Committee. Blair asserts that Pfizer would have been involved in this investigation. Meyer quoted Blair on this point, but omits the more important consideration that Kefauver's purchase of Pfizer was made six months after passage of the Kefauver-Harris drug bill and that subsequently the Federal Trade Commission issued a finding, based on the Kefauver disclosures, which proved highly damaging to Pfizer. Nor did American Home Products fare better. It was forced to halve the price of its Equanil (meproamate—better known under another brand as Miltown). From such stockholders the drug companies may pray to be delivered!

The companies are enjoying their current immunity from inquiries into what they regard as their private business. Senator Maurine Neuberger, Senator Thomas Dodd and the New York *Herald Tribune* are opposing Senator James Eastland, who has tried to thwart the drug investigation from the beginning and who now, through his chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee, wishes to deny the Anti-Trust and Monopoly subcommittee funds and authority. The American of small means suffers far more from price-fixing and profiteering in drugs than from the corresponding practices in transformers and circuit breakers for which officials of the great electrical combine went to jail. This would probably distress Kefauver even more than the posthumous reflections on his integrity.

TREMORS in the NEAR EAST Desmond Stewart

Cairo
Like a continent suffering from seismic instability, the Middle East settles down through crisis on crisis, perhaps to an eventual repose.

The latest upheaval has removed the Baath Party from its dictatorial predominance in Iraq. Although President Aref, armed with supreme powers for a year, has in-

cluded several officers and civilians with Baathi tendencies in his cabinet, this means little. Those included are late converts to the Baath, and with the destruction of the Baath praetorian guard—the *haris al-qowmi* — the party's power in Iraq has vanished. The Baath still controls the state apparatus in Syria. But Syria has traditionally

gone along with either Iraq or Egypt, and now that both these countries are militantly opposed to the Baath, it is doubtful that the Syrian party can hold on.

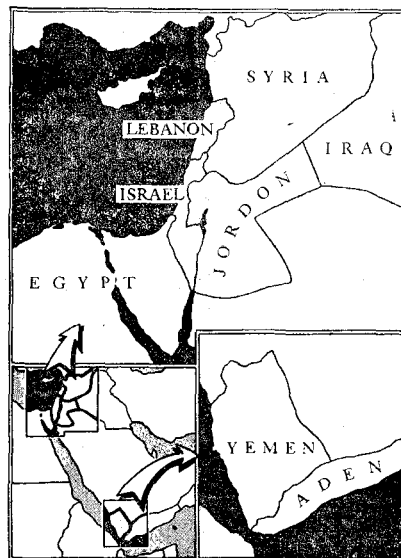
Before the Baath Party becomes

Desmond Stewart is a British journalist now living in Egypt. He is the author of Turmoil in Beirut and a novel, The Men of Friday.

a footnote in history, it is worth comparing it to the two previous political parties in Arab Asia which managed to spread across the artificial frontiers created by the British and the French after World War I. The Communist Party, founded after the Russian Revolution, always made more headway with minorities than with majorities. It suffered from the unpopularity of Russia (when Stalin supported Israel) and gained from its popularity (when Khrushchev supported Egypt in 1956). To write it off completely would be absurd, as long as its home base still believes in the spread of Marxism; but in the current climate, when all groups compete under Arab nationalist banners, the outlawed Communist Party, affirming an international proletariat as the reality underlying the Middle East jigsaw, is ineffective.

The second political party, the PPS, was founded by a Lebanese from South America, Antun Saadah. It claimed that the reality in hither Asia was not a proletariat, but a race: the Syrian. Antun Saadah was an orator of genius, a "Syrian D'Annunzio," better at slogans than programs. His party attracted, and subsequently repelled, some of the best minds in Syria and Iraq, but it owed too much to Mussolini and his epoch. By rigidly separating the Arabs of Greater Syria (which in PPS phraseology meant Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine) from the Arabs of Egypt and North Africa, it ran full tilt, not merely against the emotional force of Arab nationalism, but against a practical sense among these peoples that only in unity could they resist "imperialism," and what to their way of thinking was imperialism's bridgehead: Israel.

The Baath Party, founded by the Sorbonne-educated Michel Aflak in World War II, hid for long in an intellectual hibernation where its confused ideals made little progress since it appealed to no class or other definable group. It affirmed three abstractions: unity, freedom and socialism; and when it seized power last year, first in Iraq, then in Syria, it showed what it meant by these slogans. The Baath definition of Arab unity was revealed during the Cairo discussions last April as one which it could domi-



nate, or work to dominate; its understanding of freedom was to install a rigid press censorship and to execute its opponents, whether they were Communists in Baghdad, Kurds in the Iraqi mountains, or Nasserists in Damascus. (Such legalized atrocities are not traditional in the Middle East; they provide a vivid contrast to Nasser's treatment of King Farouk and the Egyptian old regime.) Baath socialism was so vague that the party split down the middle on doctrine: while Ali Saleh al-Saadi wanted to go further than most Marxists, the moderate wing opposed Nasser because his socialism had gone too far.

One remarkable thing about the Baath's brief reign has been the enthusiasm it aroused among some Western journalists, who seemed to see in it an encouraging counter-wave to Nasser. The Arabs won't have liked the Baath the more for the dispatches of Mr. Patrick Seale of the *London Observer* or the evident friendliness to the Baath shown by the Israeli radio.

The whole Arab world continues to look to Nasser. The Republican cause in Yemen is unlikely to be shaken by the guerrillas who still operate in mountains north of Sanaa. The Egyptians, when they went into Yemen in 1962, were perhaps misled by the amount of popular support they could expect for the revolution. The Yemeni leaders have not shown themselves particularly efficacious or united, and the Egyptians have had to do the bulk of the fighting. Nevertheless, the abrupt opening of Yemen's

windows on the world has let in gusts of fresh air which at first shocked the Yemenis but which will become preferable to the frowzy fog in which they had lived before. Hotels, schools, hospitals have been opened; perhaps most significant, there has been an influx of money from the very large Yemeni colonies in Aden and East Africa.

Continued cooperation with Egypt is bound to mean that whoever rules Yemen in the future will have to include the apparatus of modern living in his program. Significantly enough, this is already evident in the propaganda of the Imam, now in exile in Beirut. One partisan said to me recently: "Nasser's mistake was in not letting Imam Badr show how reformist he could be. He intended to rush through a whole program of renovation in Yemen, but was not able to effect this because of the coup against him only one week after the death of his father, Imam Ahmed."

What is significant is that the dialogue has moved onto a level inconceivable before the Egyptians went into Yemen. No one now advocates a return to isolation—to a Tibetan Yemen. That the Imam Badr on his own could have put through a progressive regime is as likely as that the good-natured Louis XVI could have brought democracy to France. A week before the coup, Badr's powerful uncle, Al-Hassan, sent a cable from New York stating that the Imam's moral character made it impossible for him to recognize Badr as the religious leader of his people. Only when the republic had been established did Al-Hassan and reactionaries of his ilk support Badr, knowing that if their battle flag was royalism, the *roi* was the only figure to command support.

The eclipse of the Baath will strengthen the Egyptian position in Yemen; it is less likely to accelerate good relations between Egypt and Jordan. During the nine months of Baath control in Iraq a curious realignment of forces in Arab Asia had seemed to be imminent. The Christians in Lebanon (who had fought Nasser in the civil war of 1958) had a double vision of the Baath: on the one hand, its leader was the Christian Michel Aflak; on the other, the state he was leading

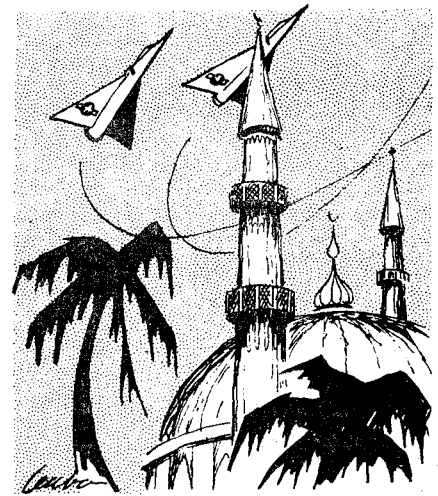
The NATION

might pose a greater threat to separate Lebanon than did the Nile Valley across the sea. Lebanon became, in fact, the closest friend, after Algeria, to Egypt. A similar tendency showed in Jordan. Hussein, who had started his headline career as a Nasserite, opposed Nasser in 1956 because the ruler of a state of nearly thirty million endangered his own popularity as occupant of a throne manufactured in Britain. But Hussein's greatest enmity had always been to the regicides who killed his cousin Feisal in Iraq, and when he saw Iraq and Syria under the increasing control of such Robespierre-like Baathists as Amin Hafez and Ali Saadi, he began to rebuild the bridges linking him with Egypt. Significant evidence of this was his interview with Mohammad Hassanain Haikal, editor of Cairo's *Al-Ahram* and assumed mouthpiece of Nasser, in Paris last fall. Hussein insisted on speaking to Haikal and protesting the ardor of his Arab nationalism. With the decline of the Baath, Hussein's protestations may cool.

The place where the Baath's overthrow has had least effect is perhaps Egypt itself. For while the Baathi intellectuals have been theorizing about the future of the Near

East since 1940, they pushed through no real reform in their nine months of power. Nasser's Egypt, on the contrary, has pursued a steady road of social progress since 1952. The land-reform bill—important as a signpost—was passed only two months after the Egyptian officers dispossessed Farouk. Since then, without using violence and with no organized opposition from party or class, Nasser has transformed the Egyptian economy into a viable mixture of socialism and individual freedom.

Nasser's one conspicuous failure until recently has been to create a forum for genuine democratic control. Two parliaments have been dissolved in crisis since 1952. A third parliament is expected to meet on February 22. Its members will represent approximately 175 constituencies and each constituency will send two members: one of these must be either a fellah or a worker. The view, commonly repeated in Cairo, that this *insures* that the assembly will be representative is naive. It is as possible to select a "reliable" fellah or worker as it is a "reliable" intellectual. But the fact that 50 per cent at least of this new assembly will come from the classes who comprise the vast majority in



Egypt will be a revolutionary advance. And those who know the fellah best (to say nothing of his wife, the redoubtable fellaha) say that he is much more likely to be outspoken and sincere than his city cousin who has changed his *gallabya* for a Western suit.

The strength of Egypt has always been its enduring peasantry; its weakness, its unendurable bureaucracy. If the fellahin can play a role in directing policy and in criticizing bureaucrats, the innovation will be as creative as the discovery of the wheel. One way or another, February 22 will be an important date.

The Ambiguous Heirs

After the Vice President? . . . Robert S. Hirschfield

In the wake of America's greatest political tragedy since the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, the nation is again directing its attention to the unresolved problems of Executive continuity in the event of Presidential death or disability.

Although the transition to a new Administration has been remarkably smooth, and despite the fact that an election to fill both of the top national offices is less than a year away, these problems cannot be ignored. The urgency is felt not

only because the new President suffered a severe heart attack eight years ago, or because his statutory successor, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, is seventy-two years old; it arises even more because the actuarial record of American Presidents (and Vice Presidents) is so disturbing: eight out of thirty-six Presidents have died in office, four out of eleven in this century, and on at least three occasions there has been serious doubt as to a President's ability to perform his duties. Moreover, seven Vice Presidents have also died, although, fortunately, the two Executive offices have never yet been vacant at the same time.

We have found no satisfactory formula for Presidential succession

in 175 years of our national life. Neither in the case of death nor of disability is the Constitution an adequate guide, and the latest Congressional attempt to resolve the issue does not meet the nation's needs. Yet a clear and firm procedure is essential, particularly in our time, when a lapse of Executive authority could be disastrous, unless we are willing to assume that "Providence watches benevolently over drunkards, little children and the United States of America."

WHEN A PRESIDENT DIES

All that the Constitution has to say on this matter is contained in one brief paragraph of Article II:

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his

Robert S. Hirschfield is associate professor of political science at Hunter College and director of the Metropolitan New York Center for Education in Politics. His book, The Constitution and the Court, was published recently by Random House.

January 6, 1964

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death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

This section of the basic law is not only short, it is also unclear. For example, Vice Presidential successors have claimed the office and title, as well as the powers and duties, of the President ever since John Tyler established the precedent in 1841. But it was not until ratification of the Twenty-Second (Two-Term) Amendment in 1951 that the practice had any constitutional sanction, and even now there is nowhere a definite statement that a successor Vice President actually becomes President of the United States. The framers of the Constitution did not intend that he should; they anticipated that the Vice President would only *act* as President until the office could be filled by election. But consistent (and wise) practice has hardened into constitutional law, and the legitimacy of Lyndon Johnson's title to the Presidency is unassailable.

More pressing is the question of Executive continuity if both the President and his successor are removed from the scene. The framers left to Congress the job of declaring "what officer shall then act as President," and the legislature has made three different attempts to provide a statutory line of succession, looking to either the Cabinet or Congress itself for the purpose. In the first of these acts (1792) a Federalist Congress avoided the Cabinet because its senior member, the Secretary of State, was the opposition political leader, Thomas Jefferson. As a result, the President pro tempore of the Senate was selected to be first in line, with the Speaker of the House to follow. These statutory successors would only "act" as Chief Executive, and if the succession came during the first two and a half years of a Presidential term, a special election was to be held "forthwith" in order to choose a new President.

Although four Presidents and

five Vice Presidents died in office while the first Succession Act was in effect, no change was made until the assassination of President Garfield, in 1881, was followed only a few years later by the death of Grover Cleveland's Vice President, Thomas Hendricks. The Act of 1886 shifted the line of succession to the Cabinet—from the Secretary of State on down in order of establishment—with only the powers and duties of the Presidency devolving on the successor, who would act until the next regular election.

The third change was initiated in 1945 by President Truman, who asked Congress to make the succession more "democratic" by reverting to a sequence of elected rather than appointed officials. The legislature did not move on the request until a Republican Congressional victory in 1946 gave the opposition party control of both houses and thereby increased its interest in Mr. Truman's proposal. The resulting Presidential Succession Act of 1947 is now in force. Under this complex statute, if there is a double vacancy, "the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall, upon his resignation as Speaker and as Representative in Congress, act as President." If there is no Speaker, or if the Speaker does not meet the constitutional qualifications for the Presidency, then the President pro tempore of the Senate, upon resignation from his legislative position, is next in line. In the event that neither a Speaker nor a President pro tem is available, the succession proceeds through the Cabinet, as before, to the first member who is "eligible to the office of President under the Constitution." As in the preceding act, no provision is made for a special Presidential election.

This plan was sharply attacked long before the Dallas tragedy made two very elderly legislators—Speaker John McCormack and Senate President pro tempore Carl Hayden—the possible successors. But faced with the reality of the situation which it was fashioned to meet, the statute is now being subjected to a crescendo of attack. Some critics question the act's validity, since a Speaker or Senate President who resigned in order to become Chief Executive would no longer be an "officer," as required by the constitutional reference quoted above.

Others have pointed out that, despite the designation of twelve potential successors, the succession would probably never get past the Speaker, since the person elected to the Speakership upon the elevation of his predecessor would immediately be next in line for the Presidency. And if a disabled Chief Executive recovered, his statutory successor, having resigned his legislative seat, would then be out of Congress as well as the Presidency.

Beyond these valid criticisms, the major trouble with the present arrangement is that it fails to accomplish the very purpose for which a succession act should be designed: to assure Executive continuity in political philosophy and governmental policy, as well as in personal authority. This continuity is less likely to be achieved by turning to Congress rather than to the Executive branch—not only because the Speaker of the House may be a member of the party in opposition to the President, but also because, whatever the party situation, our political system virtually guarantees a difference in viewpoint between Congress and the President. Congress represents local interests, the President is concerned with the whole nation; Congress is a deliberative body, the Presidency is a place of action; Congress is dominated by conservative forces, the Presidency has become the focus of progressive efforts to meet the needs of our time.

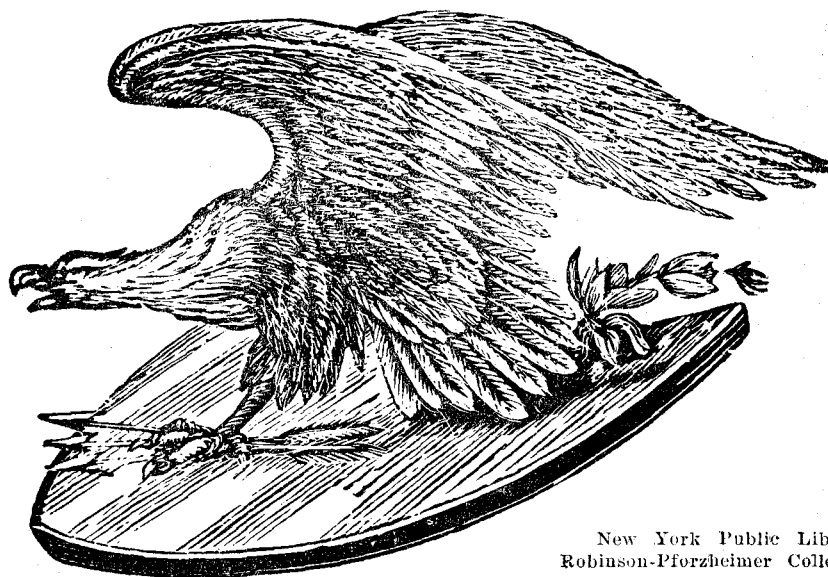
To look to Congress for a successor, therefore, is to encourage change rather than continuity. Moreover, a legislative heir to the Presidency is necessarily confronted with a conflict of interest, since his potential position demands that he be included in all major Executive discussions, while his actual position requires that he be free to oppose such Presidential decisions as come before Congress. Finally, the "democratic" argument for succession by the Speaker or the Senate President pro tempore is largely specious. Initially, the Speaker is elected by the people of only a single Congressional district (and one which must be a safe, single-party district in order to guarantee the Congressional longevity on which a bid for the Speakership depends), while his elevation to leadership of

the House is the result of a party caucus which seldom reflects the free choice of the participating House members.

None of this is meant to imply that no member of Congress could fill the Presidency (on the contrary, there are now in the Senate some excellent prospects), but rather, that as a general rule we should look for successors only among those to whom we might look initially for Presidential candidates, or among those who have been close to the deceased Executive; and that in this regard neither the Speaker of the House nor the President pro tempore of the Senate ordinarily qualifies on grounds of age, personality, constituency, philosophy or background.

The Executive branch itself is a far better place to seek a statutory successor. Not every member of a President's Cabinet has exactly the same political views as his Chief, and it is not certain that the Executive will consult regularly with his Cabinet officials (neither Roosevelt nor Kennedy did so). But the day of appointing to important Cabinet posts representatives of dissident or opposing party factions, or of awarding such positions as political "pay-offs," is thankfully past: the need for high competence in running the affairs of a great world power is now too apparent. Every postwar President has maintained close contact at least with his three principal advisers — the Secretaries of State, Treasury and Defense — who also sit by law on the National Security Council. These officials know the President's thoughts on matters which vitally affect the nation, they are his closest constitutional, if not personal, associates in carrying out governmental programs, and they are an integral part of his Administration, politically and morally committed to the policies which they have helped to formulate and execute.

The Secretary of State, in particular, is the logical choice for succession after the Vice President, because foreign affairs are the nation's dominant concern in the nuclear age. He is likely to be well known abroad and to have had personal contact with other heads of government. Even if his background is devoid of party political activity, the Secretary of State in a time of



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protracted world crisis is likely to be an astute politician, and the American public will probably know him at least as well as it does the Speaker. Moreover, if the past has any relevance, there can be little doubt that more men of Presidential stature have been Secretary of State than Speaker of the House.

Among the rash of suggestions for succession are also a number which advocate a special election to fill a vacant Vice Presidency, and some which would allow the successor President to name his own Vice President. The election proposals vary: Former President Truman would have the Electoral College reconvene and elect a new Vice President; Senator Javits has introduced a constitutional amendment which provides for election of either a national legislator or Cabinet member by a joint session of Congress. Others have suggested that a special Vice Presidential election be held along with the mid-term Congressional elections if a vacancy occurs during the first half of a Presidential term, or that a special national election be held if a double vacancy occurs. Representative Ayres would have the House elect a Vice President from a list submitted by the President, and Senator Bayh has proposed an amendment under which a majority of Congress would confirm a Vice President appointed by the new Chief Executive.

The various election schemes may well reflect the intention of the framers and the "democratic principle," but those which would in-

volve Congress in the choice of a successor are subject to the criticisms just noted; more important, all of them would tend to create governmental confusion, political competition and national division at a time when calmness and unity would be most necessary. There is more to be said for the appointment proposals, since the Vice President is essentially a Presidential aide, and since an incumbent President ordinarily names his running mate anyway. However, a new President can appoint his own Secretary of State and that would accomplish the same purpose; whereas Congressional confirmation might open the door to maneuvering or delay.

A final set of proposals calls for a plural Presidency or (as Senator Keating has suggested) a plural Vice Presidency. But schemes along these lines are ill-conceived, since the great strength of the American Executive has always been its singular nature. What we need is not more Executive officers or more potential successors, but a system which provides for personal competence and continuity of policy under critical conditions. On balance, it would seem that those goals are best met by keeping the line of statutory succession firmly within the Executive branch, and without resort to extraordinary elections.

WHEN A PRESIDENT IS DISABLED

The second aspect of the Executive continuity problem—to assure the full and uninterrupted functioning of the Presidency whenever the incumbent is unable "to discharge the powers and duties of the said

office"—is also a matter of real concern. John Kennedy was killed instantly, and five other Presidents have been taken from office suddenly. But President Garfield lay comatose for eighty days before he died, Woodrow Wilson was incapacitated for at least six weeks after his breakdown in 1919, and Dwight Eisenhower's three illnesses kept him from his duties for varying periods in 1955, 1956 and 1957.

In this matter the Constitution is no more helpful than before; even worse, there is neither an established line of precedent nor a statutory act from which to begin the search for clarification. In the first disability crisis, Vice President Arthur, Congress and the nation simply waited as Garfield slowly expired. Upon becoming President, Arthur asked that Congress provide for future exigencies of this sort, but no action was taken. The situation was more serious in 1919, since Wilson's stroke came during the fight to ratify the League of Nations Covenant. But his condition was kept secret, and the affairs of the Presidency were conducted during the lengthy period of total disability by his secretary, Joseph Tumulty, and Mrs. Wilson. No mention of incapacity was permitted after the President's partial recovery (indeed he accused Secretary of State Lansing of disloyalty for calling Cabinet meetings during his illness), and the problem of establishing disability procedures was again left unresolved. Franklin Roosevelt's failing health during the year preceding his death presented the issue of incapacity in yet another form, but the new Succession Law, enacted two years later, included no provision on disability.

Despite the evident need for action in this field, therefore, the nation entered the postwar era of global crisis without any guides to the problem, and it was not until 1957 that the first attempt was made to meet it. President Eisenhower at that time urged Congress to initiate a constitutional amendment outlining the procedures to be followed, but again the legislators failed to act; and in February, 1958, the President announced that he and Vice President Nixon had reached a "clear understanding" on the matter. Their agreement provided that:

(1) In the event of inability the President would—if possible—so inform the Vice President, and the Vice President would serve as acting President, exercising the powers and duties of the office until the inability had ended;

(2) In the event of an inability which would prevent the President from communicating with the Vice President, the Vice President, after such consultation as seemed to him appropriate under the circumstances, would decide upon the devolution of the powers and duties of the office and would serve as acting President until the inability had ended;

(3) The President, in either event, would determine when the inability had ended and at that time would resume the full exercise of the powers and duties of the office.

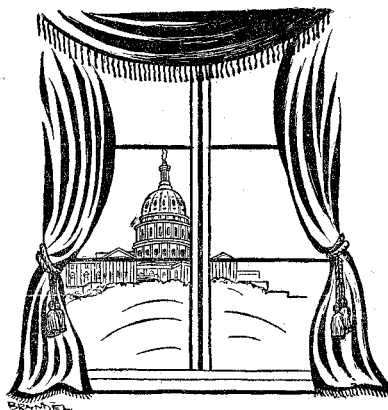
This agreement was adopted by President Kennedy and Vice President Johnson in 1961, and by President Johnson and Speaker McCormack on December 5, 1963. As a result, it is on the way to becoming the accepted method for transferring power in the event of disability. But while it is the first definite arrangement ever devised to meet this crucial problem, and commendable for that reason alone, it is not the only possible solution.

Many criticisms were voiced and myriad alternatives were suggested in Congress and by students of the Presidency when the issue was raised in 1957-58. Most of them recognized that the major difficulties with the current plan arise in those cases where a President's disability is not evident or in which a Vice President is reluctant to invoke the disability procedure for fear that his motives will be suspect. Most of the critics have sought to meet these

difficulties by providing for the determination of Presidential disability by an agency whose judgment would be unquestionable. Thus the alternatives look to Congress, the Supreme Court, the Cabinet, medical experts, eminent private citizens and various combinations of these institutions and persons for such an agency. But the schemes tend to become unreasonably complex in their attempts to avoid partisanship. None of them is really an improvement on the present understanding, and the only suggestions that might strengthen it are a requirement that the Vice President consult with the Cabinet, and that he send an explanatory message to Congress (and the nation) before assuming the Executive's powers and duties.

While few of the disability proposals are helpful and none is satisfactory, there is one important point on which most of them agree: any disability plan should have either legal or constitutional sanction so that its legitimacy could not be challenged. The Eisenhower-Kennedy-Johnson arrangement is probably as good a solution as we can get to a most difficult problem, but Congress also has a responsibility in the matter. If it is satisfied with the present system, or if it cannot come up with anything better, it should legitimize that procedure by initiating a constitutional amendment or, preferably, by passage of a joint resolution. There is no need here for a complex code of rules designed to assure honorable action in every possible disability situation, for intrigue or attempts to usurp power have never been serious problems in American history, and as Mr. Eisenhower pointed out in 1958, "we have to assume that we will be dealing with honest men" under such conditions.

Despite the current interest in the death-and-disability issue, and notwithstanding its vital nature, action on this matter is not likely to come until after the 1964 Presidential election. The need may then seem less apparent, but it will not be any less real, and the opportunity to provide a better system for assuring Executive continuity must not be allowed to slip away again. This problem is important to America's destiny, and the people themselves must demand that it be resolved.

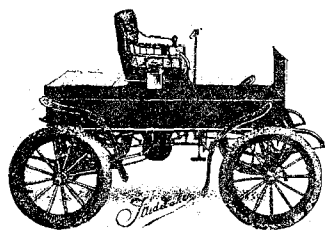


Studebaker: End of a Dream B. J. Widick

The news leaked out on December 9, one day early: Studebaker was closing forever its car-building operations in South Bend, Indiana. That evening, as the 7,000 workers streamed out of the plant, they found TV cameras at the gate, and expressed their shock and numb disbelief for the national news wrap-ups: "I just can't believe it. I don't know what I'll do." Perhaps the most poignant note was struck by an old timer of thirty-five-years' seniority, who kept muttering, "It's just a rumor."

But next morning the decision was made official on Wall Street, and the South Bend plant took on the tone of a funeral, with the reporters who swarmed over the place in the role of chattering intruders. Into these professionally sympathetic ears, the workers poured their more or less inarticulate comments. They should have been given warning, the decision should have been withheld until after Christmas, the car they were building was a good one, they had always got on well with the management (the one, but bitter, strike at Studebaker, just a year ago, seemed to have receded far into the speakers' memories).

If any single blame was pointed, it appeared to be at the sales department, although once in a while the previous president, Sherwood



Egbert, was also mentioned. There was no disposition, either among the workers, or in the city, or in the newspapers, to blame the union. The United Auto Workers had cooperated (*The Nation*, February 17, 1962) to make wage costs competitive. One woman on the assembly line said: "We tried to help the company. We took a 13c

cut in 1958. We made good cars. We built them strong. My son always looked up to Studebaker." But the economic facts were brutal. In 1953, the company's best automotive year, Studebaker captured only 2.81 per cent of the market. In 1963, the third boom year for automobiles, the company's share was less than 1 per cent.

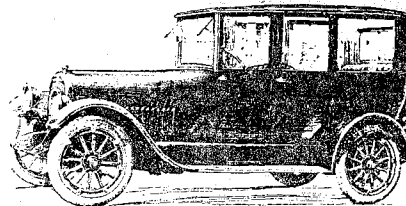
The businessman who, at an emergency meeting of civic leaders, cried out, "Studebaker isn't South Bend," forgot that Studebaker was a symbol of South Bend for the world — and that for 7,200 active U.A.W. members and 2,175 retirees, it had been a world in itself. Even before the lay-off, last November, of 1,700, a man needed fifteen years' seniority to hold down a job in the plant. Only workers with twenty or more years of seniority were working on December 10, and the average age of the employed workers was over fifty-four. For the most part, they were heads of families, and it seemed a cruel jest for a bright young manufacturing man to point out to reporters that the job loss represented only 3 per cent of the South Bend metropolitan area work force, estimated at 93,000.

Even from that statistical point of view, given the multiplier effect of the income loss, and the post-Christmas-season lay-offs of temporary help in the stores, South Bend will face a minimum of 7 per cent unemployment early in 1964. And last October the figure stood at less than 3 per cent.

The entire work force is not being laid off at Studebaker. Perhaps 500 of the 7,200 U.A.W. members will remain in the stamping division which, for a while at least, will supply parts to other Studebaker operations, notably the small assembly plant in Hamilton, Ontario, which hopes to increase production from 8,000 to about 30,000 cars a year. Another 250 workers will build trucks under a defense contract.

General Motors, Chrysler and the Michigan Employment Security Commission have sent representatives to town to recruit from among the 700 skilled workers. Another

500 semi-skilled workers may find work. But for about 4,000 older, unskilled and nonwhite workers (as they are classified) the future is bleak. More exactly, they face the fate of the former Nash, Hudson and Packard workers, of similar category. One thing that won't have to be done again is a study of what happens in a crisis like this. The man whom the federal government has hired to organize a retraining



plan for South Bend is Dr. Harold Sheppard, formerly of Detroit, who with Professor Lou Ferman conducted the famous "Packard Study" almost a decade ago.

The death of Studebaker at South Bend highlights a process that has been going on in marginal industries, and automated plants, throughout the nation. It is another warning signal for the nation of the economic problems looming in the next decade. But it also raises larger social issues. For South Bend was more than just an auto town. An important image of American life has disappeared. I described it as follows in the *Nation* article mentioned above:

The national image of the town was portrayed accurately in a Saturday Evening Post series (1952) on American communities: "South Bend's labor is unusually stable; 70 per cent of the city's families own their own homes, and the long Studebaker record of high wages and good working conditions has helped set the tone." Sociologists, looking for blue-collar workers who were middle class not only outside the plant, but inside, would have had difficulty in finding a better study than the Studebaker payroll. Wages were higher than the auto-industry level; working conditions much superior in every respect (including relief breaks and wash-up time); a piecework system enabled many workers to make very high wages (and the workers resisted a change to hourly rates). The Auto Workers had good relations with

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the corporation, whose best-known figures — Harold S. Vance, the production expert, and Paul Hoffmann, today director of the UN Special Fund—were enlightened industrialists who believed in better human relations. The union bargaining structure within the plant — the chief-steward system — was ample to meet any possible grievances.

The middle-class world of South Bend began to come apart after the Korean War as employment at Studebaker fell from 23,000 to the recent low figure. The disillusion was accelerated by the six-weeks strike early in 1962. Yet dreams and illusions die slowly. Early in December, Studebaker Local 5 — one of the first to be chartered in the auto industry — celebrated the paying off of its mortgage on a \$200,000 union hall, built within the last two years.

What happens next? Emil Mazey, U.A.W. secretary-treasurer, has proposed that Chrysler, which is building two new plants in the Midwest, take over Studebaker's South Bend facilities. But one of the ironies of the situation is that, since the skilled and semi-skilled workers will be siphoned out of

South Bend by other manufacturers, the all-around work force required for a major plant operation will be distorted, and the area will become less attractive for a major manufacturer.

Many people in automotive circles have asked why, if American Motors was able to survive, Studebaker could not. A manufacturer of parts, who did business with both firms, gave this explanation. AMC had a shrewd and aggressive top-executive team headed by George Romney. It also developed good second-echelon management, and knew how to buy most of its parts (probably 60 per cent from General Motors and other manufacturers) at advantageous prices. Studebaker could change top management readily enough but, being a community plant, its secondary management was anchored too deeply in the community. "If you wanted to replace an engineer or a salesman, you found yourself taking on the social structure of the community. Who replaces a guy who might well be the respected chairman of an important community organization? Studebaker couldn't attract and keep young talent in that situ-

ation." Now, one wonders what happens to the real middle class that was entrenched at Studebaker. Who hires older men from a company that went under?

But perhaps the most disturbing question of all arises from a related event of the week of December 9-16. The news of the sudden shutdown of Studebaker created headlines, but raised not a whimper in Congress. The report that Secretary of Defense McNamara plans *in the next two years* to close down twenty-six military establishments out of 6,000 created an uproar. Are nonmilitary workers to become second-class citizens in this nation?

Nor is it much comfort to the unemployed workers to know that their bad news sent Studebaker stock higher. Every indication is that Studebaker's diversified operations, including extensive overseas plants, are such that the company is assured of a year in the black in 1964. Is good news for the stockholders enough contribution from the business sector of the economy to meet the challenges of the coming decade?

SNCC Takes Stock Mandate from History Elizabeth Sutherland

Washington, D.C. Through a slashing downpour they came, in buses and trains and cars with license plates that ranged from Mississippi to Massachusetts, bringing life to the empty campus of Howard University. The occasion was the opening of the fourth leadership training conference of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Just three years ago, SNCC (universally pronounced "SNICK") had one office worker and one field secretary; now, more than 400 workers and staff watched as the major networks placed their cameras to televise the first of three days' talk about "Jobs and Food," three days of speeches by Norman Thomas, James Baldwin,

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Bayard Rustin of CORE, and SNCC's top men; of workshops with government agency and labor representatives; of the songs for which the civil-rights movement is famous; of cafeteria food, late parties — and personal reunions. One of the conference's problems, in fact, was that so many SNCC youths were so happy to run into former co-workers and jailmates that they found little time for the business at hand. I saw one staff member lifted a good three feet into the air by a joyous buddy; he never quite came down to earth again. The conference opened in the same week that *Life* magazine came out with an article by Theodore White about the civil-rights movement. White asserted that SNCC is an extremist organization which has attempted to convert

peaceful demonstrations into "putsches" against government offices in Southern cities and has contemplated the adoption of a sinister military plan that would start another civil war. "Lunatics and aliens" was his summing-up phrase for the organization, or at least for elements in it.

Established in 1960, to coordinate the many student protest groups, SNCC is known for its policy of encouraging local leadership, its practice of living closely with "the people" (as symbolized by the overalls many of its members wear) and especially for its imaginative, militant tactics. Of all the civil-rights organizations, SNCC has been the most candid advocate of basic economic and political change as necessary in America if "equal rights" is to have any mean-

ing for the Negro — and for all Americans. A mostly young, mostly Negro group, SNCC has concentrated its energy in the rural South — most recently on voter registration. It holds two conferences a year; no formal decisions are taken at them, but recommendations are collected for consideration by an executive committee a few weeks later.

The primary goal of the second 1963 conference was to examine the problems of unemployment and poverty in Southern rural areas, and specifically to acquaint field workers with existing government and trade-union programs which might be applied in their communities. During the three days a variety of themes emerged; few of the major issues facing the civil-rights movement were overlooked. All in all, the conference reflected the two-sided situation of that movement today: great strength and vitality, but no comprehensive strategy to overcome the equally great obstacles arising from the general state of our nation. SNCC leaders are sophisticated about those obstacles. Even a sixteen-year-old field worker may show a remarkable grasp of political realities, based on personal observation of power operating in his community. The movement is experienced and determined on the one hand, still groping on the other. And, as the conference also showed, no outside force has been able to provide the answers it needs.

The first day of the conference vividly affirmed the strength of SNCC. The speeches given by its leaders in the Howard University chapel were striking for their lack of double talk, empty talk and just plain too much talk. Chairman John Lewis, standing in front of a stained glass window which bore the words "Gloria in excelsis deo," spoke of SNCC's broad humanistic goal: "We have a mandate from history, from our forefathers, to do everything possible to see the Southland and this nation come in line with the great democratic ideals."

Robert Moses, the quietly impressive leader of last November's Freedom Vote Campaign in Mississippi (*The Nation*, Dec. 7), then took up Theodore White's article in *Life*. SNCC leaders have said privately that White's account of cer-

tain incidents was a hodgepodge of wild inaccuracy, distortion and second-hand material which had been incorrectly reported in the first place. But Moses did not give a detailed rebuttal to White's charges, perhaps because those with experience in the South have seen events twisted so often that they may well have stopped bothering to argue over specific facts. Instead, he discussed more profound differences of attitude. For example, White stated that Negroes could wreck the two-party system in 1964; Moses countered that this might not be a bad thing, since the system doesn't work at present. He also reaffirmed SNCC's policy of non-exclusion:

past political associations were not relevant in judging the merit of a person working for SNCC. It was quite clear that no fear of the Red label would stop SNCC from pursuing its goal: "We must change the political structure of the South as we now know it," said Moses.

At intervals, announcements were made about James Baldwin, who was scheduled to speak that morning and whose plane had been delayed. A press conference finally began; questions were asked and answered in an atmosphere of slightly tense formality. As this routine ended, Executive Secretary James Forman unexpectedly intro-



Singing at Danville, Va.

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duced a short, round lady from Mississippi, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer. She leaned toward the microphone and in a few words told how she had tried to vote but wasn't permitted and she was tired, just plain tired, of things being that way. "I don't want to be as good as white folks, I want to be better!" she cried. And then she began singing "Go Tell It on the Mountain." What happened after that was one of those moments of magic in the civil-rights struggle. All the young energy which had sat quietly through speeches and newsmen's questions suddenly let go — the kids in blue denims had something to do at last. The chapel rang with hundreds of voices and cadenced clapping; young men rose from their seats and began marching in a chain through the aisles while the bosomy woman from Mississippi sang on and on, her face drenched with sweat. The TV men sat silent, a little stunned, as the outburst climaxed with the chant of "Freedom, Freedom, Freedom!"

There was a lunch break, a speech by Norman Thomas, and then the singing began again. In the midst of it, James Baldwin finally walked out on the platform alone, unheralded, and sat down on a piano bench, looking like a nice, well-behaved boy. The TV fellows brightened at their star's arrival, but they would still have to wait because everybody was too busy singing "I'm On My Way." Baldwin watched quietly; after ten minutes or so he was introduced and spoke.

Of course Norman Thomas had been right when he said, "You won't win just by singing" — and equally right when he added, "but you won't win if you stop singing." Much of the tall, lean Socialist's speech was devoted to the tough issue of jobs for Negroes in a nation where unemployment is now almost 6 per cent, and double that for Negroes. Bayard Rustin bluntly said later, "The fight for freedom is running counter to certain important forces at work in American society . . . you can make room for the Negro on a bus but you can't make a job for him when there aren't any."

The guest speakers at this conference offered several proposals for the unemployment problem. Norman Thomas, noting the effects

of automation and affirming that fair employment requires full employment, suggested that the government establish a fund to support the unemployed and also provide work for them (but outside the armament industry). Stanley Aronowitz of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers urged that a massive public-works program be demanded. Bayard Rustin, whose general position was that the civil-rights movement should broaden its base, suggested that white youths go, not to the Deep South, but to Kentucky, West Virginia or wherever large numbers of unemployed whites live, and persuade them to join Negroes in exerting pressure for action. Thus could begin a true social revolution in America.

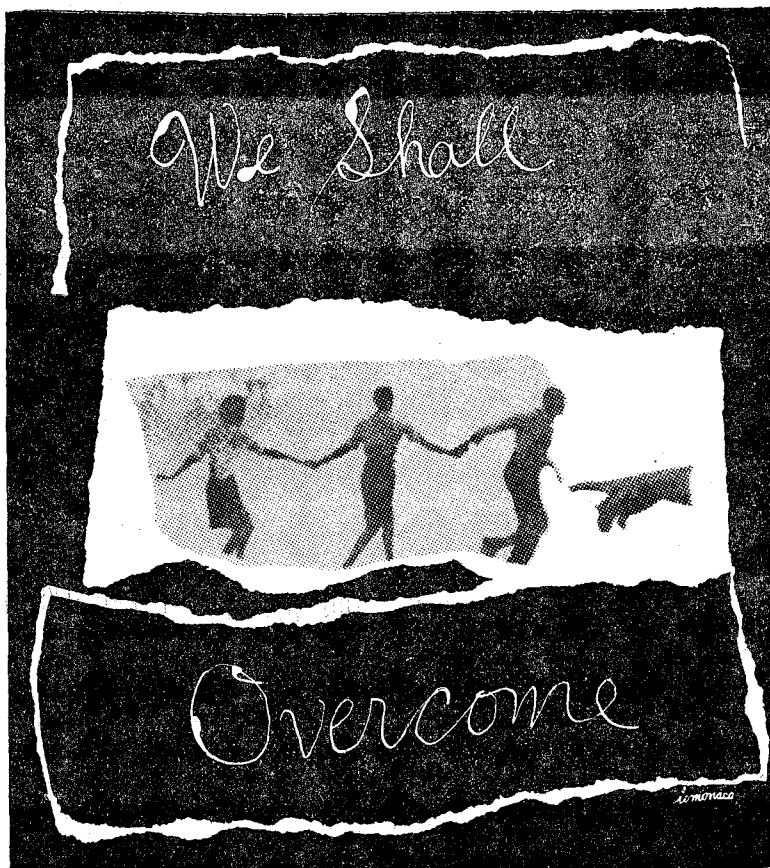
None of the SNCC leadership itself spoke to this particular point. Some of its field workers seemed reluctant to wait for full employment as a prerequisite for fair employment. They are so concerned with injustice that even "fair unemployment," to use one girl's phrase, can become a goal. And when it is a triumph to get a single Negro registered to vote without anybody's being killed in the process, one can see how the threat of automation might appear remote. Many SNCC people feel that the Southern Negro's specific and immediate problems are not properly appreciated by Northerners — including sometimes Negro Northerners. Even when traveling outside the South, a SNCC worker may not quite shake off his orientation. One young Negro from Louisiana appeared with a flute at a party after the conference. When asked about it, he gestured toward different pockets in his clothing and said, "I always carry three things with me — my flute, my Bible and a toothbrush." It wasn't necessary to ask why: he lived with the constant possibility of being jailed. At the same time, many field workers simply lack the education or background with which to see their problems in a larger context.

This lack of identification and communication showed itself in the workshops. Several were conducted by representatives of the AFL-CIO, and a general address was given by Jack Conway, Executive Director of that organiza-

tion's Industrial Union Department (IUD). In their statements, most of these men followed a general line that not all labor is conservative, that labor and the civil-rights movement should cooperate (the SNCC conference was partially financed by union money). But many SNCC workers remained skeptical, even antagonistic. A workshop would occasionally become tense as a SNCC youth strove for less vague talk and more real help. It sometimes seemed as though the unions wanted the movement to do their organizing for them, and at one point a U.A.W. representative said rather plaintively, "The labor movement isn't very strong, you know." In another workshop, somebody asked if combining organized labor and the civil-rights movement wouldn't be like a marriage between an old man and a young girl. Again and again, pointed questions were met by "That's too complex to go into now" or "Our time is nearly up." Bayard Rustin was one of the few people who expressed a strong positive position toward labor: he called for an end to "all this foolishness of damning the trade-union movement."

In the workshops with government representatives, also, the exchange of ideas was strained. Listening to how Southern Negroes might be helped under the Manpower Development and Training Agency's program, for example, SNCC workers were less impressed by possible advantages than concerned about barriers which inimical local whites could raise. One speaker showed a kind of awareness of this problem when he told how some Negroes had complained to the federal government because they weren't receiving the Farm Security payments to which they were entitled. The Attorney General sent the FBI down to investigate and the people who had complained were later arrested. "But at least it got the federal government involved," he concluded. That is hardly the kind or degree of involvement for which SNCC strives.

The general failure to achieve a dialogue was not entirely the fault of the labor and government representatives. The workshops were poorly attended and they should have been better organized. But Robert Moses' workshop on the re-



alities of voter registration was mobbed. The reason for such opposite responses became clear during one workshop when young Paul deBrul of the IUD said that instead of backing the Mississippi "mock election" for Aaron Henry in which 80,000 Negroes unofficially voted, SNCC would have done better to canvass for the Republican candidate, Rubel Phillips, and against the racist Democrat, Paul Johnson, who won. But those from Mississippi know that Phillips supports Jim Crow too. His election campaign was centered on proving that he was just as good a segregationist as Johnson. DeBrul probably meant to argue for working within the power structure to achieve relative, "realistic," victories. SNCC, while accepting this tactic in principle, knew that it was not only morally unacceptable in that particular situation, but also impractical — Negroes simply wouldn't have rallied for Phillips.

This type of conflict becomes all the more interesting when one notes that a majority of the guest speakers at this conference were of Socialist affiliation — although it was certainly hard to tell that from anything they said. They failed to

impress the SNCC workers, partly because of problems in communication, but also because SNCC is less discouraged, not so intimidated by the opposition, impatient with old, mechanical tactics which they know will prove inadequate — in short, more truly radical.

What of SNCC's attitude toward the federal government? Here the leadership position seemed clear. Kennedy's assassination was respectfully noted with a moment of silence at the opening of the conference, and some chilling reports were given by SNCC people who had seen white Southerners gleeful at the news from Dallas. But James Baldwin probably expressed the general feeling when he said, "Let us not be so pious as now to say that President Kennedy was a great civil-rights fighter." SNCC's James Forman appeared optimistic about the long-range effects of Johnson's accession: "Kennedy could get by on words, Johnson has to deliver." There would not be a moratorium on direct action, Forman added; Johnson himself hadn't called a moratorium on pressing for the civil-rights bill. The way to help get the bill through, John Lewis felt, was

by the continued pressure of direct action. Even Bayard Rustin, who urged in general a more "clever" approach, did not suggest any letup of direct action; in fact, he urged intensification.

The Negro revolt is fighting against time, as unemployment rises and the need for results mounts. "The civil-rights movement is now in extreme crisis," said Rustin, for there has not been one area of real breakthrough despite all the sweat and sacrifice. He failed to mention the psychological gains of the movement, but clearly some crucial questions are demanding hard-thought answers. And these questions are, ultimately, the same that confront any citizen who believes in the necessity of deep-seated change to meet the needs of all the dispossessed in our society. Yet there is a great difference between the tired liberal or isolated leftist—who has long recognized that necessity—and the SNCC people. They may not yet have found a sure-fire strategy with nation-wide scope, but they are working, experimenting, learning, thinking—with imagination, and in every field. Beyond this, they have an asset for which there is no intellectual measure: the glow of historical momentum.

LETTERS

(Continued from inside front cover)

ples of fuzzythink, then, turn up on both sides. And where are the clear-headed engineers? If one manages to penetrate all the smoke about taxpayers trusting their money to the likes of Urey and Gold (neither of whom, to my knowledge, has anything to do with the space program), it seems that the engineers are the ones who are running almost every act in the government's three-ring technological circus. If Schenck seriously believes that Nobel laureates are engaged in the design and building of rockets, he has been reading comic books. . . .

The problem is not that agencies like NASA are refusing to run major projects like basement experiments, but that they are receiving such a disproportionate share of the so-called Research and Development budget that they have attracted large numbers of scientists into the lower ranks of totally unscientific engineering projects, even within many universities. And one of their chief problems there is the personal animosity of many engineers toward basic research—an animosity shared by Schenck. . . .

John J. Coffey

January 6, 1964

Mental Health: Search for a Theory

THE VITAL BALANCE: The Life Process in Mental Health and Illness. By Karl Menninger, with Martin Mayman and Paul Pruyser. Viking Press. 531 pp. \$10.

Abram Kardiner

Dr. Karl Menninger has heretofore been known, in addition to his role as director of a hospital and research foundation, as a popularizer of psychiatric and psychoanalytic subjects. In this new work, assisted by two younger associates, he steps into the role of reformer. He is careful not to claim originality, saying, "The hypotheses we shall submit as a basis for subsequent theorizing . . . are not new, nor are they ours except in the sense that we accept and use them." He therefore claims only a new kind of synthesis. It is interesting that some of the hypotheses now so freely endorsed by Menninger were repudiated by him quite vigorously a decade ago. However, his change of mind should not count against him: this reversal is indicative of the current ferment in psychiatry.

It is for this reason that Dr. Menninger's essay is important, irrespective of the success or failure of the undertaking. What puzzles the reviewer is who shall constitute the audience for this book. It is well written, slick, streamlined, has a high polish and seems deceptively simple; but even the educated lay reader lacks the technical equipment to evaluate the merits of the hypotheses used or the success of the synthesis thus arrived at. However, for the technical reader, this book is an exciting adventure in theory-building that fails.

The book begins with a justifiable dissatisfaction with existing classifications of mental disorders. While the authors reject the idea that mental disease is a myth (Szasz), they wish to condense and simplify. They propose to think of all mental illness as

Abram Kardiner was until recently director of the psychoanalytic clinic, Columbia University. Dr. Kardiner is the author, among other books, of The Individual and His Society (Columbia University Press) and co-author of The Mark of Oppression (Norton).

being the same in quality and differing only quantitatively. The variously named mental states merely represent different degrees of the same process. On the other hand, they do not wish to discard the concept of the syndrome, i.e., a recurrent cluster of traits. This leaves us with, for example, a schizophrenic syndrome, but not a disease called *schizophrenia*.

The authors trace the concept of individual diseases to the accidental association of psychiatry with medicine, from which source psychiatry derived its tradition, protocol and procedure. They propose, accordingly, to remove psychiatry from its dependence on medical methods of classification, and offer a new science of adaptation — mental illness being one or another form of maladaptation. This is a holistic concept of personality; a psychological, sociological, physiological and chemical concept.

The authors are fully aware of the disunity of psychiatric trends at the end of the nineteenth century, when the ideas of James, Wundt, Mesmer, Charcot and Freud were in competition. They claim that the real catalyst for the awakening of psychiatry was World War I, when the emotional casualties of the war became a kind of national emergency that neither the government nor the medical profession was prepared to meet. Ignorance as to the nature of war neuroses cost the United States and Europe hundreds of thousands of intractable and irreversible disorders.

The authors then take the development of the war neurosis as a model for the development of all mental illness. This approach is bound to make trouble, for, of all psychiatric syndromes, the war neurosis has the most demonstrable relationship to the external conditions that bring it about. Also, the assumption that all forms of maladaptation follow a set course from the effective adaptation to an amorphous state of disorganization and then to the final consolidated form identified as the neurosis cannot possibly be the universal and only progression in mental illness.

The newly synthesized frame of reference which the authors propose for

evaluating the events described above presents a strange mixture: (1) a theory of individual interaction with the environment and mutual adaptation effort, which is often referred to as *adjustment theory* or *adaptation theory* (Rado, Levy, Kardiner); (2) a theory of organization also called *system theory* and organismic theory (Cannon, Bertalanffy); (3) a theory of psychological regulation and control, called *ego psychology* (Freud, Hartmann); and (4) a theory of ultimate motivation, called *instinct theory* (Freud). There is still another theoretical ingredient called heterostasis, i.e., the tendency to move away from the *status quo*, as in growth; and finally Menninger's old war horse, the *death instinct*. The principle that gets the greatest emphasis is the first-mentioned adaptational theory; the one that gets the least is the classical Freudian instinct psychology.

We wait eagerly to see whether this synthetic theory can be put to work to define or describe for us some structural principle whose growth we can follow and whose disintegration can be observed in mental illness. Instead, we are merely told that these four sets of principles most effectively describe the cycle of events from health to complete and irrevocable collapse or on around to recovery. Having failed to describe a structural entity, the authors neither show how the normal functioning is affected nor how the disorganization takes place, what it is that falls apart or why it does so. Presumably it is the ego; but we can no longer rely on this vague construct without knowing how it is constituted. The closest they come to explaining the process is to assume the existence of a series of normal coping devices which are invoked for small emergencies. When this repertory is exhausted, as is the case with major threats, the organism invokes five levels of retreat, all of which are in the nature of emergency controls, a concept first used by Cannon in physiology and Rado in psychodynamics. We are not told what structural entities maintain homeostasis or what puts the dyscontrol in motion. We are led to assume that the dyscontrol is proportional to the severity of the "trauma." As the screw is turned a little harder, levels 2, 3,

4 or 5 of dysorganization are invoked.

We begin to lose confidence in this scheme as soon as we find that the first level of dyscontrol is based on the experience of the soldier in battle. The description given is that of the amorphous stage of battlefield disorganization, before the stabilized form of the neurosis is consolidated. The stabilized forms are not described. We can accept this stage as one of disorganization, but only the stabilized forms could tell us what the new style of adaptation will be. Nor do the authors tell us any more than that the new style is different. There is no analysis of the change from one state to the other, what adaptive expedients are deleted or what new ones are set in motion, nor how successful they are. If the authors want us to accept the amorphous stage of traumatic syndrome as the prototype for all forms of dyscontrol, we must emphatically dissent. The traumatic syndrome is a response to a self-preservative crisis and the reparative or escape devices are suited to the particular threat coming from outside the organism. The schizophrenic syndrome is not a response to the same provocation, and hence differs from it in structure and quality.

We must therefore dissent from the view that the levels of dyscontrol differ only in quantity. Such a conclusion implies that all coping devices are put together in precisely the same way, and it is an error. This is like assuming that a tumor can start as a fibroma and end as a malignant cancer. By the same token, a mental illness may begin as a hysteria and then, as the screw is turned tighter, develop into schizophrenia. This is where the absence of a structural hypothesis about how the integrative processes differ in kind and in composition comes home to roost. It is true that some cases *seem* to be hysterical or obsessive in origin, but on close examination they turn out to be schizotypic types. This misreading of the facts is due to faulty diagnostic acumen, not to changes in the organism. The schizotypic syndrome is most specific, and lacks ingredients found in "hysterical" or obsessional personalities.

Another way of testing the validity of Menninger's theoretical position is to see whether it can be used to describe the integrative process, and not only the disintegrative one. The answer is that it cannot be so used, for the theory does not, by extrapolation,

explain why the Eskimo has a different ego structure from a Navaho. The reason for the difference is that each culture fosters a different style of adaptation.

As a piece of theory-building, this endeavor must be written off as a failure. The reviewer is inclined to go along with Menninger's objection to disease entities, thus leaving the syndrome as a distinctive entity. But Menninger's use of this entity is faulty, because the syndrome has no structure and no history and, therefore, it has no fixed relationship to the conditions under which it came into existence. The essence of adaptational theory is that it strove to establish the conditions, organic and environmental, under which the adaptive devices of the ego were established. Thus, while Menninger borrows freely from adaptational theory, we fear he has missed its essence.

Notwithstanding his take-off point from the traumatic syndrome as a universal model, the real prototype in Menninger's work is the schizophrenic syndrome. This is quite appropriate from the point of view of the public interest. For this syndrome has become the number one problem in mental hygiene the world over. We miss in this work any discussion of the dangers to the community created by this illness. We also miss any discussion of how this illness has

contaminated our culture as a whole. Nevertheless, the book does emphasize the importance that this illness has taken on in our century. Fifty years ago we were able to recognize only its terminal manifestations; now both physicians and the public have been educated to recognize the innumerable early manifestations, and this greater understanding may be responsible for the impression that the illness has increased greatly since World War II. In spite of all this, the schizophrenic illness has always proved a poor starting point for building a theory of human behavior. Jung failed in this endeavor, as did Adolf Meyer. So did H. S. Sullivan, and now Menninger in turn has failed to establish his case.

The latter part of the book drops sharply in tone. It is addressed chiefly to the layman, on whom Dr. Menninger beams with hope and enthusiasm. In this role he sounds a bit patronizing and saccharine to those who see the cases discharged as cured from the great hospitals, and who must labor with them on a day-to-day basis. We do not share this optimism. We do not see that Dr. Menninger's theory points the way to new knowledge, or even indicates where to look in order to get it. Nowadays, it is hardly likely that inspiring therapeutic indications will arise from inadequate theory.

Occupational Madness

LOOKING FOR THE GENERAL. By Warren Miller. McGraw-Hill Book Co. 203 pp. \$4.95.

Robert Hatch

If one of our young heroes—a nuclear physicist, a systems engineer—were to come unhinged, what form would the madness take? Warren Miller, who has dealt with Harlem in fiction (*The Cool World*), and with Cuba in journalism (*90 Miles from Home*), speculates now in satiric fantasy on the disorientation of the doomsday technicians. *Looking for the General* is a "tract for the times" that manages also to be ribald and raucous comedy.

Mr. Miller's spokesman, one Billy Brown, is a World War II radar man turned weapons physicist who, as the book opens, is congratulating himself on having evaded "their" shock therapy and kept his precious memory

track intact. Billy knows the ultimate, holy truth; hunched beneath earphones in the midnight laboratory, he has heard the singing of the stars, heard the voices calling to glory. He has seen the contrails of the galactic ships, he has spotted their outriders, working meanly in our mean cities, but their silicon bodies shining like warm gems among our base carbon meat. Indeed, Billy has slept with one of them—an extra-terrestrial angel cast as a Polish-American secretary with an adventurous lust and an appetite for hamburgers—and has beaten her beyond even peasant tolerance in an attempt to break the gates of her memory and seize from her the key to the celestial gawps and screeches on his tape from outer space.

Billy's boss, a general who would have been proud to shake the hand of

Patton or Groves, has also read the mysteries. He is dying of cancer and is in urgent need to know when the ship will sweep in on its flat saucer trajectory. Before he embarks, moreover, he must contrive to alert America to what the Russkies have up their sleeves. The general's impatience is understandable, if hard to accommodate to scientific due process — and then, to the mortification of the security staff, he disappears.

Billy sets off in pursuit, and the bulk of his chronicle is a Kerouac voyage across America, behind the wheel of an old Plymouth, guided from chapel to chapel by visionary brothers. For Billy and the general are by no means alone. Once you can see, you find that there are seers on every hand. There is the priest of the Church of Christ, Astronaut (meeting in the old Cameo movie house), who gives Billy the map; there is the Kansas barber who is building a tower to paradise, its four legs anchored in the four corners of that providentially

symmetrical state; there is the archaeologist who knows where to search for the gold plates on which the Incas flew, the practical nurse who in trance remembers Atlantis, her fiancé who has discovered that the Pygmies are extra-terrestrial scouts, the father and son who are on the brink, the very brink, of levitation.

With the help of these and many, many other clear-eyed students of that which is hidden, Billy tracks the general to Twelvepalms. There in the great desert, teamed up with a retired admiral and aided by Staff Sergeant Greystone (nee Grey Wolf), a homosexual Indian chief who has rallied his tribe for a final war party, the general perfects a coup that will simultaneously guide the ship to safe landing and waken America to the peril. He will blow up the nerve center of the early warning defense system, a detonation that must be seen from the stratosphere and heard in every corner of the earth. "Can Franco be trusted?" the admiral asks the general. They think of everything, these wise old dogs of war.

Billy Brown, it soon becomes clear, is crazed only along the plane of his obsession. In other orientations he ob-

serves with a bleak, sardonic wit, and his account of places seen and persons questioned is the most unsparing essay on the American cultural landscape since Humbert Humbert went his desperate motel hegira across the continent. There is no mote in Billy's sociological eye, it is only cosmic dust that blinds him, and you would almost forget his mania if he could throw off the tics of fanaticism. But Billy has the bully's trick of addressing all comers as "friend"; he betrays himself by obsessive jocularities like the use of "ho ho" as an adjective, the injection of "tu sais" for coy emphasis. Brown has sized us up; but though he had the intelligence for the job, he unfortunately lacked the nerve. Billy Brown has sized us all up and gone mad in the process.

It would be a disservice to Warren Miller to name the books of creative admonishment that *Looking for the General* brings to mind; the comparison might be so flattering as to embarrass him. It is tactful to say, though, that from now on we shall have to make at least one exception when we complain that our age has no gift for satire. Miller's Billy Brown displays the authentic spastic grin.

Why U.S. Can't Win in VIETNAM

Wilfred Burchett, the only correspondent reporting from the liberated zone of South Vietnam for a U.S. publication, starts an exclusive series in the Jan. 2 issue of

NATIONAL GUARDIAN,

the progressive newsweekly, 197 E. 4th St., New York, N.Y. 10009. Send your name, address and \$1 for a ten-week trial sub beginning with this issue. Also on sale at major newsstands beginning Jan. 2.

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Pictures in Time

A VISION OF PARIS: The Photographs of Eugène Atget. The Words of Marcel Proust. Edited by Arthur D. Trottenberg. Photographs from the Collection of Berenice Abbott. The Macmillan Co. 211 pp. \$19.95.

R. A. O'Brien

André Maurois in his book on Proust observed that "It is in vain that we return to the places that once we loved. We shall never see them again because they were situated not in space but in time. . . ." Proust's secret, of course, was to obliterate the disabilities of time by returning to "Things Past" in his imagination. He worked as an artist to bring time past to the present, going so far, finally, as to isolate himself from the outer world in the famous cork-lined room on the Boulevard Haussmann, his numerous ailments providing him with a ready excuse.

Eugène Atget, the devoted photographer whose untouched and honest pictures of the Paris of his day

R. A. O'Brien is editor of the editorial page of the *Kingston, Ontario, Whig-Standard*.

have become a vast museum of humanity surrounded by its crowded city world at a particular place in time; and Proust, the creator of an immensely complex fictional world born of the minutiae of his own past life, is a combination that will arouse instant sympathy or animosity. It will be irresistible for the pedant to disagree with the prose chosen to accompany the photographs; and the reverse will be true for the academically minded in photography. The reviewer of such a book as this must be completely subjective or he is not doing his job. It is impossible for me to imagine anyone's missing the almost hypnotic pull of these magnificent pictures of a dead city. Atget's Paris is dead, even though many of the buildings and streets he photographed remain to this day. No buildings, no streets or squares or monuments, nothing forming the cities of man, remain the same from generation to generation, because each generation lives its unique life and in memory re-creates that life in its own way.

It is, to me, invariably startling, even a little frightening, to gaze into a

photograph which shows men and women long since dead. They move about in their accustomed surroundings, they wear their accustomed clothes and show their accustomed faces—but to their own world in their own time; not to my world and my time. I have been given the chance to peek at them from another dimension in time. Atget, because of his ability to photograph a scene without any trickery, and yet from a standpoint which no ordinary observer would have noticed, provides here in these few examples of the enormous canon of his work the very essence of the world Proust recaptured in his writing.

As for the physical quality of Atget's work, I am not knowledgeable enough about the technicalities of photography to be able to say just why his photographs (like so many taken during those early days of the art) are so perfect and yet so subtle. It may be their size—they were taken with a camera old-fashioned even then, a large awkward view camera "with a rapid rectilinear lens of unknown focal length." His pictures were printed on albumen or gelatino-chloride printing-out paper, and toned brown with gold chloride. This sepia tint, which characterizes photographs of the nineteenth century, has always seemed to me much more subtle and at the same time truer to texture and color (leaving color photography aside) than contemporary prints.

Whatever magic he used, it came from a man who worked from before dawn every day taking series of related photographs which have become among the most renowned records of a period.

As for the accompanying Proust selections, I am most of the time indifferent to or at war with the choice. Somehow this combination doesn't succeed as it should. I treasure the complexities of Proust; the details

of the life he recorded never cease to fascinate me. And the photographs reproduced here are all that I have described them as being. But the photographs are complete in themselves. The snippets from Proust remain just that — they are not, regrettably, illuminated, or in any way extended, by the photographs.

Also, the section entitled "The Dimensions of Art" fails for me because it consists of church architecture, of statuary in parks, of various bits and pieces (such as some wrought-iron work) which have nothing to do with art. Church architecture, when dealt with in a matter-of-fact way as it is here, rarely achieves anything more than a pompous and self-conscious air. The text is not concerned with art either. It is Proustian analysis of a dead time and as such exists as art. Even the one excerpt which speaks directly of the work of art remains out of context, having here not much more force than that of an extended aphorism.

The section on "The Fabric of Nature," which consists of many views of the Bois de Boulogne, succeeds as well as do the scenes of the city itself. It contains some of the best photography in the book and the text for natural scenery is easier to choose and can actually be a true supplement for the photographs. I know there will be opposition to any suggestion that Proust's prose should be considered supplemental to anything, but in this book such a result is inevitable. The photographs are complete. The text is presented out of context.

But the total impact of the book is nevertheless profound, produced by a mixture of technical achievement, sensitive selection of prose and picture, and that all-pervasive feeling of moving bodily into those realms of imagination in which one becomes lost when reading Proust. This book is an exercise in the modification of time.

Morning Purpose

Rising gate
with disappearing locks.

Thin tingling wind. Sun engines

picking up their whirr, starlings wheeling

across oil and pulling it into clouds. Turning

as a last measure, to scream. But too far away. The control

is what lifts me. The sky is not open, but curves, in blue sinking tones
to send us back in the deep flesh of our own places. Whip shaped,
to deal with romance.

LeRoi Jones

RECORDS

Benjamin Boretz

The notoriety of Wagner's grandiose schemes and dogmas, and the boldness with which he employed them in his operas, has fixed the attention of most listeners and performers on these extraneous qualities as the principal bases for perceiving and evaluating his accomplishment. On such terms, Wagner can be admired only by those who equate pure self-importance and aggrandization with mastery, and must necessarily be despised by those who don't. Fortunately, there is far more to hear and discover in his works than either the merely presumptive awareness of big ideas such as "synthesis of the arts," or the sensuous ecstasies of cleverly manipulated masses of sound (and flesh, usually) over hypnotically long time spans. For the continuously absorbing focal point in Wagner's late works is the extraordinary translation of loose and arbitrary literary "programs" for music drama into musical and dramatic functions that redefine every aspect of traditional procedures and elements in all the perceptual realms of opera in

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terms of a formal totality generated by their interaction.

Thus, the great length of the late Wagner works is not a result of uncontrollable meliorhea, but arises from the need to find a rate of event-changes and a dimensional scale in which a conjunction of ideas that take place on several levels at once (visual, verbal, vocal and orchestral) is perceived as an individual element in a composite whole.

A Wagnerian passage that might be an entire section of, say, a Schubert song, or a full exposition of a thematic idea in a Mozart symphony, may function for Wagner as does a two- or three-note motive in the earlier music. Similarly, the Classical analogue to his sequences and repetitions would not be the incessant reiteration of whole passages, but the building up of individual events through the juxtaposition of related details.

It is, in fact, precisely in this realm of time-rate awareness, in which the relation of "detail" to "event" is constantly modulated over a wide range, that Wagner's superiority as a master of large-scale structure is most evident. Unlike some of his predecessors (Berlioz, in particular), the extended dimensions of whose works were often simply a proportional mapping of traditional functions onto a broader and

hence more easily apprehensible canvas, Wagner perceived the possibility of an enormous expansion in the *degrees* of relationships that could be expressed without destroying the traditional contexts of perception. The crucial nature of this attempt to preserve broad intelligibility is evident in the social consequences for music that followed in the early twentieth century, when the limits of this gigantic solution were reached and surpassed, and a new syntax, far more difficult for listeners and performers conditioned by a centuries-long tradition, had to be developed to encompass the increasingly numerous relational resources required by composers. In this sense, the extreme compression of Webern, and Schoenberg's attempt to reconstruct Classical articulative procedures, are genuinely "consequences" of the aftermath of Wagnerism.

In the music dramas themselves, the operation of Wagner's deep awareness of the implications of his ideas on every level of structure produces a dramatic development of unique power and richness. For example, the "time scale" of the *Ring* cycle—a single work whose four movements take four evenings to perform—is as unambiguously established by employing the entire length of the prelude to *Das Rheingold* to unfold the opening chord as the compression of Beethoven's *Eroica* and Fifth Symphonies is indicated by the terseness of their initial events. And each of the *Ring*'s movements has a distinctive sonorous character that is directly correlated with the evolving dramatic imagery. Thus in *Die Walküre*, the predominant visual and verbal images are of light and brightness (after the welling up of the Eb chord from the depths of the Rhine to the heights of Valhalla in *Rheingold* has, in the manner of an "introduction," outlined the total range of the cycle): the lightning and wind at the opening, the flashing of the magic sword, the moonlight at the end of Act I, the flights of the Valkyries and the magic fire at the end. The transparent orchestral context not only mirrors these qualities, but gives them coherent relationships through the timbral identification of "white" sounds such as the chorusing of the Valkyries, the open horn and trumpet triads, and the culminating bass-less and weightless Magic Fire music, which seems to absorb and fulfill the sonorous tendencies of the entire work.

Following this, the first and second acts of *Siegfried* are suddenly rooted in another realm entirely, in images of darkness and savagery: the underground cave of the first act, and the dark forest of the second, at the gloomy center of which is the cave of Fafnir, the dragon. The extraordinary sonorous realization of this framework is accomplished by the almost complete absence of important upper-register sounds through the two acts (except for the forward-and-back-relating hints of the Magic Fire music, and the starkly detached song of the Forest Bird); the entire development takes place through a predominance of the viscous sonorities of tubas, trombones, bass clarinet, low strings (the violas are virtually the upper limit of the orchestra) and the bass register of the horns. And just as the dragon is the extreme image of darkness on the textual and visual level, the contra-bass-tuba notes that accompany his *basso profundo*, which are heard unaccompanied at his death, are the lowest pitched sounds in the entire *Ring*, the registral nadir of the total dramatic structure.

The reappearance of high registers in the last act is, therefore, not only a strikingly dramatic idea in itself, one that illuminates the transformation of the opera's context by Siegfried's discovery of Brünnhilde's brilliance; it also projects an overarching sense of the suspended development of a whole dramatic level during Brünnhilde's sleep, a level that is re-engaged on her awakening at precisely the point where it was left, at the conclusion of the second movement of *Walküre*.

The solo violin passage that rises to its highest register in direct musical counterpoise to the immediately preceding rumbling of Fafnir, is thus a "re-awakening" in every dimension of the *Ring*'s structure. And the immediately following passages develop this image with an imaginative precision of great subtlety; the succession of high-register flute, oboe and harp sounds is suddenly galvanized in the single piercing high-horn chord that signals Brünnhilde's awakening. (A further dramatic subtlety made possible only through musical association is the identification of this horn timbre with Siegfried's characteristic motif, and its simultaneous distinction from his major-mode solo arpeggios by her minor-mode single chord.) The first words that Brünnhilde herself sings are "Sonne," "Licht," and "Leuchtender Tag," whose images are

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reflected in the transparency of their woodwind-quartet accompaniment.

The inexhaustible riches of these multi-dimensional structures were all conceived in terms that can be realized in performance. But the interpretive and executive burdens that such realizations impose on conductors, orchestra and singers, are nearly as far today from the practical capabilities of opera-house companies geared to the relatively uncomplicated machinery of the rest of the standard operatic repertory as they were when Wagner felt impelled to build his own theatre as the only way to secure reasonable performances of his works. Under these conditions, the virtues of recorded performances are obvious, since they can employ distinguished singers in every role, as well as first-rate symphony orchestras equipped to cope with both the numerical and technical requirements of Wagner's scores. Thus the recordings listed below, whatever their individual qualities, contain performances so far superior to anything I have ever heard in an opera house that specific objections seem superfluous. Solti's is perhaps the more estimable of the complete recordings, in orchestral finesse (the imperceptible seams in the chord-changes are a superb stroke) and the vocal distinction of its cast (especially Hotter as Wotan, Neidlinger as Fafnir, and Stolze as Mime; but even Birgit Nilsson seems more focused on pitch and less inclined to swoop in the *Siegfried* recording than in the earlier *Walküre*). Still, Leinsdorf has few equals in his precise control of the position, nature and manner of every sound in a complex context, in the

exact terms presented by the score, and his recording is an impressive demonstration of how far responsible textual precision will carry a performance toward a genuine formal realization. A more profound precision in the choice of the exact articulation and texture through which to balance and sustain a formal totality — as well as some remarkable singing—is perceivable on the 1935 Walter recording of Act 1 of *Die Walküre*.

WAGNER: *Die Walküre*. Birgit Nilsson, Gré Brouwenstein, Rita Gorr,

Jon Vickers, George London, David Ward. London Symphony, Erich Leinsdorf, cond. RCA Victor LD/LSD 6706 (5 records).

Die Walküre, Act I. Lotte Lehmann, Lauritz Melchior, Emanuel List. Vienna Philharmonic, Bruno Walter, cond. Angel COLH 133.

Siegfried. Birgit Nilsson, Wolfgang Windgassen, Hans Hotter, Gerhard Stolze, Gustav Neidlinger. Vienna Philharmonic, Georg Solti, cond. London OSA 1508 (5 records).

ART

Max Kozloff

After at least fifteen years of withdrawal from the art world, where curiosity about his pictures has by no means dimmed, Clyfford Still has finally consented to display the work of his career. The new Institute of Contemporary Arts at the University of Pennsylvania provided in its inaugural show the first real look at the production of a man whom popular opinion has rightly assumed to be one of the initiating masters of Abstract Expressionism. Not that there was ever that much opportunity to judge, for he has avoided showing in New York, and I had not seen those of his paintings gathered at the Albright-Knox Art Gallery in Buffalo. But the image of Still as a color field artist, working on a mammoth scale, and in an idiom which in the forties was already opposed to the then pervading neocubism, has persisted. I was aware of his stature as an innovator, and looked

forward to perceiving his quality as an artist.

What Still had accomplished during the war might be summarized as an unstructured painterliness — neither Expressionist nor Surrealist in character, and therefore out of keeping with available alternatives. Some of the meandering biomorphism of the time is partially suggested in "1943-A," in which a few snaky colored lines and vaguely organic smudges huddle around the edges of an otherwise startling blue vacancy. But this imagery is depersonalized, a schematized, if still animistic, version of all the myth-or passion-ridden preoccupation of the forties. Shortly thereafter, he followed through with an intimation of the picture façade as its own reason for being, purveying a unitary sensation, or being irregularly blotted out by masses that kept on pushing at, and disappearing past, the perimeters. Executed



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"AMERICA AMERICA", written, produced and directed by ELIA KAZAN, introducing Stathis Giallelis; with Frank Wolff, Harry Davis, Elena Karam, Estelle Hemsley, Gregory Rozakis, Lou Antonio, Salem Ludwig, John Marley, Joanna Frank, Paul Mann, Linda Marsh, Robert H. Harris and Katharine Balfour-music by Manos Hadjidakis-presented by Warner Bros.

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on a vastness of scale quite unprecedented in easel painting (which Still, in any event, was attacking), these paintings side-stepped drawing and the illusion of spatial recession without ever giving the impression of evasiveness. The result was a sense of the picture surface — now extraordinarily flattened—as a kind of wall whereby constructive elements no longer had any exclusively formal relationship with one another. Contained or uncontained, strongly contrasted, or totally diminished in contrast, Still's shapes made way for the diffusion of pictorial energies solely into color and matter. Completely black or yellow pictures occur in 1948, before Newman and Rothko, with whom Still must be accounted a founder of color field painting. But unlike them, he did not appear to arrive at his solution by the osmotic encounter of native traditions with advanced European art.

Indeed, if anything is made clear by this exhibition, it is that Still has gone his own way, as undisturbed by the logical implications of what he was doing, as by the goals of his peers and the need to develop and expand his vision. No one paints shapes that look like brittle striations of wood in quite the way Still does, but few would be as unconcerned as he with a chipped, flinty fussiness of silhouette that strenuously detracts from the monumentality which is an obvious pictorial goal. Then too, no one puts so much emphasis on color, and does so little with it. Aside from the Brobdingnagian proportions of the color areas—which are inevitably imposing—his hues are hot, flat or dead, and never, or so rarely as to be dis-

counted, optically or sensuously alive. This quality of chromatic aliveness is an elusive matter; it depends on such things as sensitivity to value, hue and placement, and grows with the emotional openness and richness of the artist. Still hardly ever demonstrates that his artistic virtues come remotely near these. But color impact is also enormously dependent upon touch and surface treatment—precisely the area of his greatest failing.

Never has an artist called attention so clangorously to his own inability to paint, and never has there been one so immodest about his defects. The best account of Still's obtuseness has come from Clement Greenberg, who paradoxically, but unconvincingly, represents himself as an admirer of the artist. Lkening Still's handling to Greenwich Village landscapists, he says: "These painters try to match the brightness of sunlight with encrustations of dry paint, and seek to wrest directly, from the specific hue and density and grain of a pigment, effects of open-air lighting that . . . can be obtained or approximated only through *relations*. The process of painting becomes, for these half-trained artists, a race between hot shadows and hot lights in which both lose. . . ." And further, "the paint is

reworked and re-covered constantly in the effort to increase its brightness. . . . These things can spoil a picture or render it weird in an unrefreshing way, but when such a picture does succeed it represents the rehabilitation of one more depressed area of art."

To impute to Still a rehabilitating fervor, however, is to overlook his total absence of irony, and the fact that he was painting incompetently twenty years before "incompetence" could become a subject of art. His big blunder has been, in the absence of any conceptual power, to attempt a virtuosity that is quite beyond his capacities. Critical attempts to portray him as an artist who bursts forth into a new freedom, or as an exponent of the "American sublime," overlook his terribly static, one ought to say, vulgar, exaltedness. His lightning bolts and flame forms are, in fact, the cheapest forms of spurious dramatic properties, indications of a will to power which, if couched in political terms, would almost have a Fascist ring. That Still, in his personal statements, rails against the outer world as a hotbed of "collectivists," elevates his art as "one of the greatest stories of all time," and generally speaks as a deluded follower of Ayn Rand, doesn't help. This radical pathetically trips over his own fanaticism.

The Form of Poem

Each man must As you must protect
the ridge that extends his form
The silence that is his form
Or the speech

Consider The music The drum
in its rhythms The night in its
rhythms The day as it breaks but
does not shatter the motion

That night As you sat The room in
motion There Close upon your ankles
Upon your thumbs The rhythm of it as
it closed upon you The rhythm of it
as it closed upon the ridges of your skin

Wishing to become the motion Wishing the
rhythm to continue into your flesh Until it
would be no more than a breath Until it would
be as close as the flickering of a muscle

Consider Knowledge of a breath is not to
breathe But to know breath as it separates
itself from the nostril To know the distance
To measure the extremity

Each man must As you must protect
the ridge that extends his form
The silence that is his form
Or the speech

Susan Sherman

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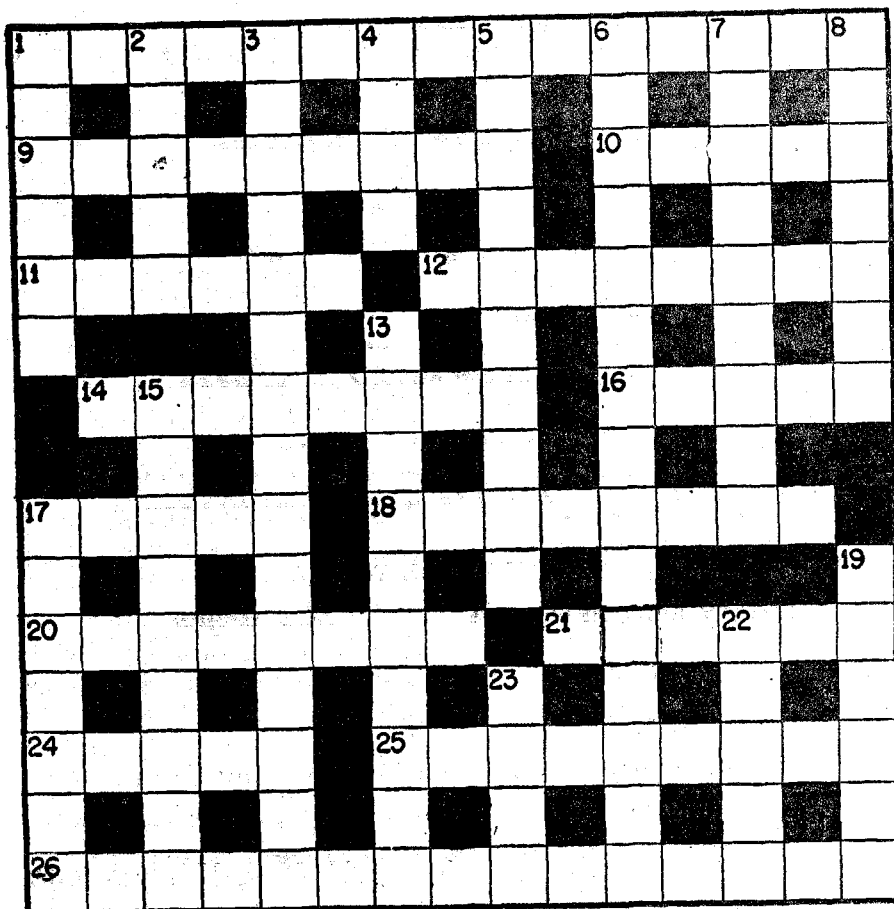
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CITY

STATE ZIP NO.

Crossword Puzzle No. 1040

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

- 1 People of light opera who should be concerned about fat and its cardiac relationship. (5-7, 3)
- 9 and 24 across Water associated with reeds? (4, 2, 3, 5)
- 10 Ithaca, Rome and others have to strike, with more than one object. (5)
- 11 Thus in turn, the old man of popular song is to pass through and become mixed up. (6)
- 12 Would one expect to find C. Lamb a keynoter in the beginning of entertainment, possibly? (8)
- 14 What one does if a run-away and a snob? (8)
- 16 A number in the van would make walls out of the mountains. (5)
- 17 What Lincoln did to bad liars? (5)
- 18 Proving the scheme is shifted, and still shifts. (8)
- 20 What Hood did about a leg, for example? (8)
- 21 What an artist does with horses out west, perhaps. (6)
- 24 See 9 across
- 25 Is nothing held with a specific idea? (9)
- 26 A sign of someone unappreciative of the wearing of the green? (4, 3, 3, 5)

DOWN:

- 1 No aims on the plate, perhaps. (6)
- 2 What they used to use to prevent

that sinking feeling? (5)

- 3 See 22 down
- 4 What one does at set teas? (4)
- 5 Evidently another hitch occurred with the reed silent. (10)
- 6 Making someone ineligible for the service? (15)
- 7 How the French get sick about the arm spread? (9)
- 8 The color spreads from pole to pole in great quantities. (7)
- 13 Ignited by the Dutch foe of this? (7, 3)
- 15 Giving a party for those who might have liked the riding rough? (4, 5)
- 17 Ask in a peculiar way about an uncivilized state in a foreign place. (7)
- 19 Comments intended to be overheard in the same manner with which dates are made. (6)
- 22 and 3 Did Helen refuse every ship sent after her? (2, 2, 1, 8, 5, 2)
- 23 China, perhaps, went off with silver. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1039

ACROSS: 8 Tennessee Valley; 9 Presto; 10 Strutted; 11 Asks; 13 Proverbial; 15 Alcalde; 16 Reminds; 19 Carpenters; 21 and 2 Gallants; 22 Biblical; 24 Motive; 26 Marriage brokers.
DOWN: 1 Tetrasyllabical; 3 Estopped; 4 Pension; 5 Averse; 6 Slot; 7 General delivery; 12 Swamp; 14 Bring; 17 Easy mark; 18 Well fed; 20 Nectar; 23 Lure; 25 Take.

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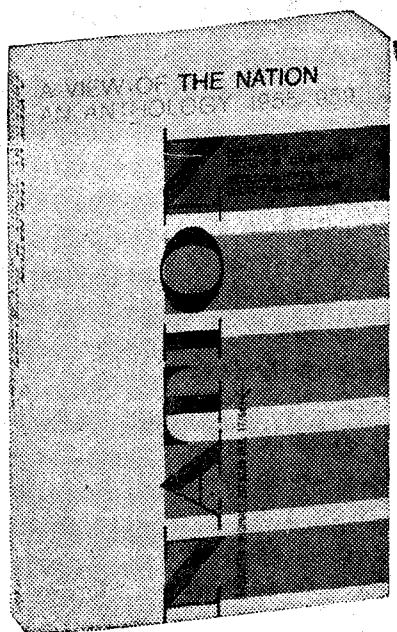
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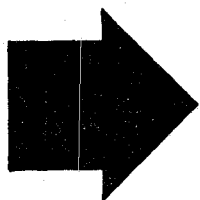


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